2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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618 619 593 693 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 618 619 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 917 231 618 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 592 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up, but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 195–7.

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Nama

exceptionally by the men.[1] The milk secretion of the cows is periodical and dependent upon calving and the needs of the calf. The flow ceases when the calf is able to fend for itself; the cow then "becomes dry", as the Hottentots put it. In times of good pasture some cows may continue to yield milk up to shortly before the next calving; in dry years, on the other hand, many of them occasionally yield so little milk that the calf hungers, and milking for domestic purposes is naturally out of the question. At milking, done early in the morning and again when the cows have returned in the evening from pasture, the calves are first allowed to drink for a while. Then the woman comes up with her wooden pail, drives away the calf, and after binding together the hind legs of the cow to keep it still proceeds to do the milking. All the cows are milked at one sitting. If a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, it is induced to do so by the substitution either of another calf sewn up in the skin of the dead one or merely of the stuffed skin, or else somebody stands behind it and blows hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place.[2]

The herding of the cattle is simplified to some extent by the fact that permanent water is found at only a few spots, known to both men and cattle, and both also know where water is to be found after good rains. These spots usually serve as the sites for the encampment. The oxen, only occasionally required for riding or for draught, need no special care in herding. They take their drink at the water, then go out to graze in the veld and rove at large, returning about every other day or two to drink. If wanted for work they can then easily be secured; if not, they rest in the camp during the remainder of the day, and then in the cool of the night proceed to the veld as before. The cows are driven to pasture every morning after milking, and left to graze unattended, till the attraction of the young calves brings them home to the kraal of their own accord at night. Old cows no longer calving are kept for slaughter, and allowed to graze in the same way as the oxen. They go further into the veld than the mother animals, and there find better grass and pasture longer. The calves are placed at night, after drinking, in a special enclosure of thorn bushes or stone, open to the sky, while their mothers sleep freely in the vicinity. In

[1] In this respect the Hottentots differ fundamentally from the great majority of the cattle-keeping Bantu tribes, among whom milking is essentially the task of the men, the women having very little indeed to do with the cattle, even, in some cases, being ritually prohibited from all contact with them.

[2] Schinz, op. cit., 277-8; Kolb, op. cit., 79-80; von François, op. cit., 258.